

## Message Text

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AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT:STATE DEPARTMENT PRESS BRIEFING - JUNE 24, 1977

FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT JUNE 24 PRESS  
BRIEFING:

Q: HAVE YOU BEEN ASKED ABOUT MR. BOTHA'S PRESS CONFERENCE?

A: NO, BUT I WAS SURE I WOULD BE.

Q: WELL, I'LL DO THE HONORS THEN. HE SAYS IN EFFECT THAT  
HE'S LEAVING THE UNITED STATES STILL UNCLEAR ON WHAT U.S.  
POLICY TOWARD APARTHEID IS, WHETHER WE'RE DEMANDING ONE  
MAN-ONE VOTE. I KNOW YOU COVERED THAT YESTERDAY, BUT HIS  
REMARKS THAT HE IS STILL UNCLEAR FOLLOWS YOUR REMARK FROM  
YESTERDAY.

A: THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD A NUMBER OF MEETINGS WITH U.S.  
OFFICIALS. WE HAVE SOUGHT REPEATEDLY TO MAKE OUR POSITION  
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CLEAR. IT IS NO DIFFERENT FROM WHAT I OUTLINED HERE TWO  
DAYS AGO.

I WOULD CHARACTERIZE ALL THE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE FOREIGN  
MINISTER, WHO IS A VERY FORTHRIGHT MAN, AS HAVING BEEN EX-  
TREMELY CANDID AND FRANK. I DON'T THINK THAT EITHER SIDE  
MISUNDERSTANDS THE OTHER.

Q: WOULD YOU DEFINE "HUMAN RIGHTS" TO INCLUDE FULL DEMOCRA-  
TIC PARTICIPATION, WHICH IS TO SAY ONE MAN-ONE VOTE?

A: I WOULD DEFINE OUR POSITION AS BEING, AS I SAID, THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROCESS SHOULD MOVE TOWARD FULL DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION, THAT WE ARE NOT SEEKING TO TELL ANYONE WHAT FORM OF GOVERNMENT THAT PROCESS SHOULD ENCOMPASS BUT THAT THE END OF THE PROCESS SHOULD IN FACT INCLUDE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL CITIZENS -- ALL ADULT CITIZENS -- IN THE GOVERNMENTAL WORKINGS AND THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

Q: "FULL DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION" -- IS IT SYNONYMOUS WITH ONE MAN-ONE VOTE, EACH VOTE EQUALLY WEIGHTED?

A: IT IS CLEAR THAT FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF OUR OWN EXPERIENCE IN THIS COUNTRY THAT WE ULTIMATELY REGARD A FULLY DEMOCRATIC PROCESS TO INCLUDE THE IDEA OF THE ADULT FRANCHISE FOR ALL CITIZENS.

NOW, AS YOU KNOW AND AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER KNOWS, ONE MAN-ONE VOTE CARRIES A GREAT DEAL OF FREIGHT, WHICH HE HAS BEEN SPEAKING ABOUT. BUT THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES, FROM ITS OWN EXPERIENCE, THAT THE FINAL EXPRESSION OF FULL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN A FULLY UNCLASSIFIED

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DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IS THAT ALL CITIZENS CAN PARTICIPATE EQUALLY.

Q: ARE WE WANTING JUST TO HAVE THAT HAPPEN IN SOUTH AFRICA THAN WE ARE IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN AFRICA?

A: WE ARE NOT.

Q: HE SAID AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE TODAY THAT "IF THE UNITED STATES AGREES THAT YOU CAN REACH THE AIM OF FULL PARTICIPATION BY VARIOUS ROADS THAT THEN WE CAN START TALKING, BUT IF IT MEANS ONE MAN-ONE VOTE IT MEANS OUR DESTRUCTION."

NOW, IS IT THE U.S.- POSITION THAT YOU CAN REACH THE AIM OF FULL PARTICIPATION BY VARIOUS ROADS?

A: I THINK THAT WE HAVE SAID BEFORE THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE ROAD MAP FOR HOW YOU GET TO WHAT WE BELIEVE OUGHT TO BE THE GOAL, NOR DO WE HAVE THE PRESCRIPTION FOR HOW A COUNTRY MOVES FROM WHAT IS A NON-DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM TO ONE WHICH IS. WE CAN ONLY REPEAT THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE MOVEMENT SHOULD TAKE PLACE. THE END RESULT, WE BELIEVE, FOR ANY COUNTRY, FOR ANY PEOPLES, SHOULD BE THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL ADULT CITIZENS IN THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

Q: BOTHA CLAIMED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS ASKING THIS COUNTRY TO DO SOMETHING THAT IT HAS NOT ASKED THE OTHER NATIONS OF AFRICA TO DO. IS THAT SO?

A: I THINK THAT IN EVERY CASE OF OUR DEALINGS WITH ANY COUNTRY IT IS CLEAR THAT AMERICAN PRINCIPLES AND THE AMERICAN POINT OF VIEW ARE THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE MAXIMUM BENEFITS TO ALL THE PEOPLE ARE DERIVED FROM A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND INsofar AS HOW WE MAKE THOSE VIEWS KNOWN, AS UNCLASSIFIED

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WITH ALL ASPECTS OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AND ALL ASPECTS OF OUR RELATIONSHIPS, IT WILL DEPEND FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THERE'S A COUNTRY IN THIS WORLD THAT DOES NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT OUR BASIC VIEWPOINTS ON THIS SUBJECT ARE.

Q: HE DOESN'T OBJECT TO THAT. HE OBJECTS TO THE FACT THAT YOU HAVE SINGLED OUT SOUTH AFRICA AS A COUNTRY ON WHICH YOU ARE OPENLY APPLYING PRESSURE.

A: YES. I WOULD JUST POINT OUT IN THAT RESPECT THAT THE SAME COMPLAINT HAS BEEN RAISED -- AT LEAST IN MY VERY LIMITED EXPERIENCE -- BY A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD, ALL OF WHOM SEEM TO BELIEVE THAT THAT IS THE FOCAL POINT OF OUR POLICY. AND IT RANGES FROM BIG COUNTRIES TO SMALL COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE RAISED THAT COMPLAINT.

I WOULD JUST CATEGORICALLY DENY THAT WE ARE SELECTIVELY APPLYING OUR HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY TO ANY ONE COUNTRY OR TO ANY ONE REGION OR TO ANY COUNTRY BY VIRTUE OF ITS SIZE, ITS POWER, OR LACK OF IT.

Q: WHAT COUNTRIES HAVE THIS?

A: WELL, I THINK YOU READ THE SAME PRESS I DO, AND, THEREFORE, YOU PROBABLY COULD MAKE YOUR OWN LIST. I WOULD GIVE YOU SIMPLY THE LAST TWO WEEKS' WORTH OF NEWSPAPERS. AND IF YOU CAN'T FIND SOME WHO HAVE COMPLAINED THAT WE ARE SELECTIVELY APPLYING THE POLICY, THEN WE MIGHT DISCUSS IT. BUT I DON'T NEED TO LIST THEM FOR YOU. WE'VE BEEN TO A COUPLE OF CONFERENCES.

Q: WHEN MR. MONDALE WAS IN VIENNA, THE THRUST OF THE POLICY UNCLASSIFIED

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SEEMED TO BE THAT UNLESS THE SOUTH AFRICANS SHOWED SOME WILLINGNESS TO MAKE MOVES TOWARDS THIS GOAL -- WHATEVER IT IS -- OF FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, THERE WILL BE A WORSENING OF RELATIONS. SINCE THEN YOU'VE HAD THIS NEXT

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT A HIGH LEVEL WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER HERE.

WHAT IS THE NEXT MOVE? DO YOU SEE ANY WILLINGNESS ON THEIR SIDE, OR WILL THERE NOW BE A PROGRESSIVE WORSENING OF RELATIONS?

A: WELL, I CERTAINLY DON'T ENVISION A PROGRESSIVE WORSENING OF RELATIONS. WE ARE HOPEFUL THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WILL, AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAS INDICATED A NUMBER OF TIMES, MAKE MOVES TOWARD THE GOAL WHICH WE BELIEVE IS IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF ALL THE CITIZENS OF SOUTH AFRICA. BUT, OF COURSE, THAT, FRANKLY, IS ENTIRELY UP TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

Q: DO THEY HAVE UNLIMITED TIME?

A: IT IS CLEAR THAT WE BELIEVE THAT MOVEMENT NEEDS TO TAKE PLACE NOW, THAT IF WE DIDN'T BELIEVE THAT, THEN, OF COURSE, THERE MIGHT BE SOME DIFFERENT KIND OF ANALYSIS.

BUT AGAIN, HOWEVER -- I MEAN, THE AMOUNT OF TIME, HOW FAST -- ALL THESE ARE MATTERS WHICH WE SIMPLY DON'T OFFER AN AGENDA ON.

Q: THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE TALKED TO SOME EXTENT PRIVATELY ABOUT INCREASING THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS, THAT WOULD BE FORCED TO LIVE IN THOSE HOMELANDS. IS THAT ONE OF THE WAYS OR METHODS THAT WE CONSIDER ACCEPTABLE?

A: NO. I THINK WE HAVE SPOKEN, NOT ONLY IN THIS ADMINISTRATION BUT IN OTHERS, THAT INsofar AS SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT IS CONCERNED, WE BELIEVE THAT THAT IS AN INHERENTLY UNJUST APPROACH TO THE COUNTRY'S FUTURE.

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Q: YOU SAY THAT IT IS CLEAR THAT YOU BELIEVE MOVEMENT NEEDS TO TAKE PLACE NOW. WHAT STEPS ARE YOU PREPARED TO TAKE IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT NOW?

A: WELL, I'D RATHER NOT SPECULATE ON WHAT WE ARE PREPARED TO DO IN THE EVENT SOMETHING DOES OR DOESN'T HAPPEN. IT IS JUST THAT WE ARE TRYING IN THE INTEREST OF CANDOR AND OF STRAIGHT DEALING TO INDICATE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS HOW WE FEEL ON THIS SUBJECT, AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE DONE THAT.

Q: YES, BUT YOU ALSO SAY A COUPLE OF OTHER THINGS. YOU DON'T ENVISION A PROGRESSIVE WORSENING OF RELATIONS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF SOUTH AFRICA NOW IS SAYING THERE IS NOT GOING TO BE ANY MOVEMENT NOW AND MAYBE NEVER. I DON'T

KNOW HOW YOU CANNOT ENVISION A PROGRESSIVE WORSENING OF RELATIONS.

A: I THINK THAT WOULD BE UNFAIR TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER WHO, AFTER ALL, A YEAR AND A HALF AGO GAVE A SPEECH SUGGESTING THAT DISCRIMINATION HAD TO GO IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THAT THE COUNTRY WAS GOING TO MOVE TO DO AWAY WITH DISCRIMINATION.

NOW, IF HE IS NOW SAYING SOMETHING DIFFERENT, I GUESS I WOULD HAVE TO HEAR THE QUOTATION.

Q: LET'S ASK THE QUESTION THIS WAY, IN THE INTEREST OF CANDOR. DID BOTHA HERE IN THIS SERIES OF MEETINGS GIVE THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT HE UNCLASSIFIED

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AND THE GOVERNMENT WOULD MOVE ALONG ONE OR OTHER OF THE POSSIBLE ROADS TO FULL DEMOCRACY. AND HIS PUBLIC AND PRIVATE UTTERANCES, DESPITE THAT SPEECH, HAVE NOT INDICATED ANY WILLINGNESS TO MOVE DOWN ANY ROAD.

A: I REALLY DON'T THINK, THAT I CAN GO INTO WHAT HE SAID IN A NUMBER OF HIS SESSIONS WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. I THINK THE ONLY THING THAT I CAN GO WITH IS THE PUBLIC RECORD AT THIS POINT.

Q: BUT YOU ARE SUGGESTING THAT HE DID SAY SOMETHING WHEN YOU SAY THAT YOU DON'T -- YOU KNOW, YOU ARE IN A BOX, IN A WAY, WHEN YOU SAY YOU DON'T FORESEE ANY WORSENING OF RELATIONS.

A: I THINK THE ONLY QUALIFICATION I WOULD PUT ON THAT IS THAT WE CERTAINLY DON'T WANT WORSENING RELATIONS. WHAT WE SEEK, OF COURSE, IS THE KIND OF MOVEMENT WHICH WE BELIEVE WOULD BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF BOTH WHITE AND BLACK COLORED NATIONS.

Q: AS A RESULT OF THOSE DISCUSSIONS, DID THE UNITED STATES REACH ANY CONCLUSION AS TO WHETHER THERE IS LIKELY TO BE IN THE NEAR FUTURE A FORWARD MOVEMENT TOWARD REDUCING DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?

A: I DON'T THINK I HAVE ANY COMMENT ON CONCLUSIONS THAT WE REACHED.

Q: LET ME TELL YOU SOMETHING THAT BOTHA DID SAY IN PUBLIC, NOT AMONG GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS. HE SAID -- FOLLOWING BERNIE KALB'S STATEMENT -- THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TREATING SOUTH AFRICA DIFFERENTLY THAN IT TREATS OTHER

COUNTRIES FOR SEVERAL REASONS, AMONG WHICH IS A POLITICAL

BENEFIT TO BE REAPED IN THIS COUNTRY, WHICH HAS ITS OWN  
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BLACK-WHITE PROBLEM. DO YOU HAVE ANY COMMENT ON THAT?

A: WELL, A COMMENT ON WHICH ASPECT OF IT, THAT WE ARE  
DOING THIS FOR POLITICAL REASONS AT HOME?

Q: PARTLY.

Q: FOR DOMESTIC REASONS.

A: NO, I REJECT THAT.

Q: TWO DAYS AGO, YOU SAID THAT THERE WAS NO TIME TABLE AND  
THAT YOU WERE NOT GOING TO DEMAND ONE MAN-ONE VOTE  
TOMORROW -- I THINK WERE YOUR WORDS. NOW YOU SAID THAT  
THIS MOVEMENT SHOULD TAKE PLACE NOW.

A: WE BELIEVE THAT THE PROCESS OF MOVING TOWARD A DEMOCRA-  
TIC SOCIETY IS NOT ONE THAT SHOULD BE POSTPONED.

Q: YES, BUT WHAT IS "NOW?" IS IT A YEAR, THIS SUMMER, OR  
WHAT IS THE TIMEFRAME?

A: AGAIN, I WOULD JUST SIMPLY SAY THAT MOVEMENT IS SOME-  
THING WE BELIEVE -- THAT SIGNS OF MOVEMENT, ACTUAL MOVE-  
MENT IS SOMETHING WHICH WE THINK SHOULD NOT BE POSTPONED.

Q: WERE METHODS OF MOVEMENT DISCUSSED BETWEEN THE SECRETARY  
AND THE FOREIGN MINISTER?

A: WELL, AGAIN, I AM REALLY NOT GOING TO TALK ABOUT THE  
SPECIFICS THAT THEY TALKED ABOUT.

Q: WHY CAN'T YOU ANSWER MURREY'S QUESTION?  
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A: WHICH IS WHAT?

Q: WELL, MR. BOTHA'S HAS TALKED TO A NUMBER OF U.S. OFFI-  
CIALS. WE KNOW WHAT THE NATURE OF THE DISPUTE IS AND THE  
CONFRONTATION. IT SEEMS FAIR TO ASK WHETHER OR NOT THE  
UNITED STATES ON THE BASIS OF THESE CONVERSATIONS HAS CON-  
CLUDED THAT THERE WILL BE SOME MOVEMENT OR THAT THERE WILL  
NOT BE. ON THE BASIS OF WHERE WE STAND AS OF NOW, WHAT  
DID SECRETARY VANCE CONCLUDE?

A: AGAIN, I DON'T WANT TO CHARACTERIZE ANY CONCLUSIONS AT  
THIS POINT. I THINK THEY WOULD BE PREMATURE. THE FOREIGN

MINISTER IS GOING BACK TO SOUTH AFRICA AND WE WILL JUST HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE.

Q: HAS THERE BEEN, IN THE JUDGMENT OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, MOVEMENT IN THE LAST YEAR IN SOUTH AFRICA OR IN SOME PREVIOUS TIMEFRAME, THE SORT OF MOVEMENT THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE? BECAUSE THEY CLAIM THAT THEY HAVE BEEN MOVING TOWARDS REDUCING AND ELIMINATING DISCRIMINATION.

A: WE HAVE SEEN SOME INDICATIONS THAT SOME ELEMENTS IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY IN SOUTH AFRICA ARE THINKING ABOUT THE NEED FOR CHANGE. WE HAVE NOTED THAT SIGNS HAVE COME DOWN HERE AND THERE. BUT WHAT WE ARE CONCERNED ABOUT IS THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS CONTINUED TO REPUDIATE ALL PROPOSALS FOR POLITICAL POWER SHARING.

Q: ARE YOU BEING SELECTIVE WITH SOUTH AFRICA AND NOT SELECTIVE WHEN IT COMES TO THE MIDDLE EAST WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT SAUDI ARABIA?

A: I AGAIN WILL JUST HAVE TO TELL YOU THAT WE DO NOT HAVE A SELECTIVE POLICY. WHAT WE TRANSMIT IS OUR BASIC NOTION ABOUT THE PROPER END OF A POLITICAL PROCESS.  
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Q: TO GO BACK TO SOUTH AFRICA, I WONDER IF I COULD PUSH YOU A LITTLE BIT MORE ON THE DISTINCTION, IF IT IS A DISTINCTION, BETWEEN DISCRIMINATION, THE SIGNS ON THE BATHROOMS, AND POLITICAL POWER SHARING. THE SOUTH AFRICANS, AS YOU KNOW, SPECIFICALLY IN THAT SPEECH THAT YOU REFERRED TO, TALK ABOUT THEIR WILLINGNESS TO REDUCE AND EVEN ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATION. DOES THAT HELP AT ALL? IS THAT PART OF GOING DOWN THE ROAD, OR IS IT RATHER SOMETHING TOTALLY ASIDE THAT WE -- ?

A: NO, CLEARLY ANY MOVEMENT WHICH REMOVES DISTINCTIONS AMONG CITIZENS BASED ON RACE OR CLASS OR ECONOMIC STATUS WOULD BE WELCOME. WE DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE REMOVAL OF PETTY APARTHEID WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO MEET THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF THAT COUNTRY.

Q: JIM ASKED YOU THE QUESTION OF WHAT BOTHA SAID, THAT THE UNITED STATES IS SEEKING BLACK ELECTORAL SUPPORT, THAT BEING THE MOTIVATION, AS BOTHA SEES IT, FOR U.S. PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA. HE ALSO SAID THERE IS ANOTHER MOTIVATION, THAT THE UNITED STATES AS A SUPERPOWER IS TRYING TO BE MORE RADICAL THAN THE SOVIET UNION IN ITS POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA.

A: WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS TO BE RADICAL.

Q: OR REVOLUTIONARY? VANCE

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